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- 736 Orphans in general are cared for by relatives, but when they do not have any, they are normally adopted. I have never known of any who was left in helplessness.

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The Community

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The population of a seat or settlement varies between 60 and perhaps 120, but most of the settlements have around 100 inhabitants. Smaller groups are afraid to live apart, and therefore they join together to protect themselves. Larger groups soon split up, owing to internal frictions.

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Within the settlement there is generally one or two more influential individuals, who not only direct their own families, but several others. When these groups grow sufficiently, they split up and form their own settlements. These groups are found united in a single settlement out of fear.

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The largest and most influential group gives orders in the settlement. The result of this is that any struggle for command will not necessarily be a test of strength between two men, but may easily turn into a struggle between the partisans of each of them. The maximum gravity reached by these contests is generally the "macana fight."

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Public opinion is a powerful force, and even the men of greater influence have to yield on many occasions to the will of the public.

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Each settlement usually has two names, the one of the present locality and the name of one of the localities previously occupied.

Sickness and Magic

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Some accidents are attributed to carelessness, but many accidents and all sicknesses are attributed to supernatural causes or spirits.

613 his brothers, terminologically, they have more in common with
602 each other than they do with him. As he depends on them for
601 support within the village, he is under obligation to them
584 and can not take their suggestions lightly.¹
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*621 Again, if there are two politically important descent
613 groups of the same lineage within a large village, and if
602 there are, in addition, a number of agnatically related
562 females not belonging unambiguously to either one, problems
584 arise over the disposition of the women; there will be
736 rivalry between the two descent groups concerning the marriages (or remarriages) of these women. Situations like these arise when the father and brothers of the women are killed in raids or die of other causes, or when the woman's first husband dies after her (deceased) agnates arranged her marriage. The Bisaasi-tedi, for example, split into two villages, each led by members of the same lineage. They had been victimized by a Shanatari group which killed a large number of men during a treacherous feast. There were a number of women, consequently, who were ambiguously related to the surviving males of the Upper and Lower halves of Bisaasi-tedi. One of the descent groups in what is now Lower Bisaasi-tedi managed to gain the upper hand in the

[572] ¹There seems to be a marked tendency for the daughters of such men to be given to men in other villages when alliances are made. I am unable to say, on the basis of my present data, whether such alliances are forced on these men by their agnates, or whether these men in fact prefer to dispose of their daughters in this way. This practice tends to keep such men more isolated from their agnates and prevents them from establishing strong affinal ties within the village.

disposition of these women and their children, a factor that did not contribute to the amity of relationships between the two agnatically related descent groups.¹

A girl's marriage is arranged by her close male kinsmen. Her father has the greatest influence in the decision as to which man she will be given. If the man had adult sons, their opinion can overrule the decision of the father. If a girl marries within the village, she can depend on her agnates for protection against a cruel husband. Ideally, a woman prefers to marry her FaSiSo or her MoBrSo.² If the marriage rule is not followed, women prefer to be given to a non-kinsman within the village.

Men are obliged to perform bride service in the village of their inlaws, after which they may take their wife back to their natal village. Occasionally a woman leaves her natal village to seek a husband in another village, but this is always against the wishes of the girl's agnates. Such situations usually develop into wars between the village of the girl and the village that took the girl. The war between

¹See Chapter 4 for a more detailed discussion of this incident.

²By FaSiSo I do not exclusively mean the biological relative, although he, too, would be included. By extending their kinship terminology, the Yanoama also include non-consanguines in these categories of relatives. For example, a young man in Bisassi-tedi married his FaBrWiBrDa while I was in the field. To him, the girl was his MoBrDa because FaBr was 'father' and 'father's wife' was 'mother'; the girl, therefore, was MoBrDa.

* 621 the kinship system to his advantage, putting all adult men
622 in the village in a subordinate position to himself. Let us
623 briefly examine the composition of this village.
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Figure 2 shows the ties between the two lineages over three generations: the individuals in both lineages are tied to each other by consanguineal as well as affinal ties. In a negative sense, the village is characterized by an absence of remotely-related agnates that might constitute a challenge to Reromawā for leadership. All agnates within each faction are closely related to each other, and their mutual rights and obligations in the political affairs of the village are well defined. The hangers-on, on the other hand, are related to males of the two core lineages by stable, but subordinate, affinal ties such as son-in-law or brother-in-law. Reromawā is a particularly capable leader on the basis of his personal qualifications alone.¹ His position as leader is bolstered by the nature of the ties that link him, individual by individual, to every adult male in the village. He has four adult sons to support his position. Equally significant, he has manipulated the kinship system and 'changed' the generation of a number of his kinswomen so as to advance his position as leader. He redefined two classificatory daughters as 'sisters,' making it possible to arrange marriages between his own children and the children of these women. He was able to do this because many of the

[593] ¹His son, BĒkĒbōwā, is gradually assuming some of the functions of leadership, as Reromawā is getting old.

621 actual brothers of these women were killed in the 1950-51
 622 treacherous feast,¹ and the women therefore had few agnates
 613 to contest Reromawil's actions; his rights to dispose of these
 601 women increased after their brothers were killed in the feast.
 589 Because of the previous marriages between the members of the
 183 Sha and Tom lineages, Reromawil was already MoBr to the
 582 politically most important males in the Tom lineage, and he
 could command respect from them by virtue of the fact that he
 was of the ascending generation and principal wife-giver to
 582 them. He in fact gave two daughters to one of these men.
 601 When he re-defined one of his classificatory daughters as
 183 sister, he advanced his position in two ways. First, he
 582 then became shoriwil to the man that was married to this
 sister (the man was already SiSo to Reromawil), compounding
 the cognatic tie (SiSo) that linked them with an important
 affinal tie (shoriwil). Second, he was able then to claim a
 daughter of this 'sister' as a wife for his own son (despite
 the fact that it was incestuous), creating additional stable
 ties between the two lineages on another generational level.

601 In another, similar, case, Reromawil re-defined a
 183 different classificatory daughter as 'sister,' making it
 582 possible for her son to marry his daughter. This was a
 strategic move, for the man involved was of the Hor lineage,
 a dominant political group in Upper Biseasi-tedi and Monou-
 tedi. Thus, by manipulating the kinship system, Reromawil
 advanced his own position as village leader and managed to

¹ See Chapter V.